2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/

2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
• [585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al- 601 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified 593 with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

• 585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 293 570 [707] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [197] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 [585] [114] [115]

584/77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the fiandeŕu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name ñemongaraí (!). The fiandeŕú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the fiandeŕú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the Ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [58] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.